

5

CANADA.

CORRESPONDENCE

RELATING TO THE

COMPLAINT OF CERTAIN PRINTERS WHO WERE
INDUCED TO EMIGRATE TO CANADA BY
FALSE REPRESENTATIONS.

[G. BRAIN

PAPERS

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty.

2 June, 1906. 3



LONDON:
PRINTED FOR HIS MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE,
By DARLING & SON, LTD., 34-40, BACON STREET, E.

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5 1906.

4 [Cd. 2980.] Price 3d.

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CANADA.

CORRESPONDENCE

RELATING TO THE

COMPLAINT OF CERTAIN PRINTERS WHO WERE INDUCED TO EMIGRATE TO CANADA BY FALSE REPRESENTATIONS.

No. 1.

MR. R. A. F. PAYTON AND OTHERS to HIS MAJESTY THE KING.

(Received January 24, 1906.)

342, McDermot Avenue, Winnipeg, Man.,
Canada, January 10, 1906.

To His Most Excellent Majesty King Edward VII.

We, a party of British printers, now resident here in Winnipeg, wish to place before you the true facts of the case by which we were induced to leave Great Britain and come to this country. In October last advertisements appeared in the various leading newspapers of Great Britain and Ireland for compositors and linotype operators to form a party called—A Personally Conducted Printers' Tour to Canada—under the auspices of the Winnipeg Printers' Board of Trade, a certain Mr. C. Brunning acting as their agent and conducting the party. All applicants were requested to submit testimonials, and those selected were given a two years' guarantee of work. Inquiries were made in all quarters—Canadian Immigration Department, also their Agents, the Head Officials of the Allan Steamship Company at Liverpool, and also Mr. C. Brunning himself, and each and every one gave an assurance that the action was quite genuine, and that all trust could be put in the Printers' Board of Trade Agent. Mr. Brunning gave an assurance that all was genuine, and that the reason of the party was that the Canadian North-West was growing so fast and that newspapers were being started, and that men could not be found to fill the situations. After all these and many more such assurances we left Liverpool under the guidance of Mr. Brunning, therefore placing our future in his hands. On our first touching Canadian soil information came to our ears that the Winnipeg printers were then conducting a peaceful strike, and that we were intended to fill their places. We held an informal meeting in the ship's cabin, and called in Mr. Brunning for an explanation, and he gave us his assurance that there had been a strike there but that all was settled now. We disembarked at Quebec, and afterwards took train for Winnipeg. We were placed in coaches at the end of the train evidently to keep us from being approached by any other person or persons on board. On arriving at Fort William we secured Winnipeg newspapers, and therefrom we read that a strike was still on there, and also that our party of Britishers was expected. Our train was due in Winnipeg on Sunday evening, and, expecting a crowd to receive us, our car was put off the train at Kenora for the night, and we were brought on to Winnipeg the following morning. We afterwards found out that, to bluff the Winnipeg people, a paragraph was caused to be inserted in the "Manitoba Free

Press" that the British printers had been successfully got into the city by vehicle by the Thiel Detective Agency. Anyway, we were received peacefully by the striking printers, and, being placed in such a position, we had no alternative but to go to work, for a time at least, and some of our party were early informed by the masters, that our guarantees of work were no good, and not worth the paper written on. It afterwards became apparent to us that the masters had brought more men out to Canada than they really required, thinking the Union men would probably be anxious to win over the surplus. This expectation was not realized, and recently some of our number have been sent over the border to act as strike breakers in the United States of America, and the rest of the surplus, although possessing a two years' guarantee of work, had to lie idle a good deal, and at the present time the masters are owing large sums of money to these members of our party.

Our action in writing this letter to you is entirely of our own free will and of our own suggestion, and seeing that we have been brought out here under very grave misrepresentations to act in a position of which not one single member of our party would have filled had the true facts been stated to us in Great Britain, we earnestly desire you to use your influence to make it impossible, both in Canada, the British Isles, and all British Possessions, for any such or similar action to be taken, as not only is it desirable from a Canadian point of view, but also for protection of others abroad against such falsehoods and misrepresentations in the future.

We beg to subscribe ourselves,

Your humble servants,

Messrs. J. M. LEWIS.	Messrs. W. STILES.
" W. BURGESS.	" A. BARNES.
" W. STEVENS.	" E. SMITH.
" T. PEARCE.	" H. EDNEY.
" W. EVANS.	" A. HORTON.
" W. HUGHES.	" J. GIBBONS.
" J. HOUGH.	" T. STUART.
" G. SYMS.	" A. RANDALL.
" T. THORN.	" A. MACQUEEN.
" P. McEWAN.	" J. KING.
" W. STEBBINGS.	" W. QILLIAN.
" H. SALTON.	" T. COLE.
" J. CAMPBELL.	" W. JONES.
" H. BUTLER.	" E. QUICK.
" E. STOODLEY.	" T. BRADSHAW.
" J. LADYMAN.	" M. SELLARS.
" J. MILNER.	" G. RAMMAGE.
" T. HAROLD.	" J. WILSON.

RUPERT A. F. PAYTON (Chairman).

No. 2.

COLONIAL OFFICE to the EMIGRANTS' INFORMATION OFFICE.

SIR,

Downing Street, February 5, 1906.

I AM directed by the Earl of Elgin to forward copy of a petition* which has been addressed to the King by a number of printers who were recently induced to emigrate to Winnipeg by Mr. C. Brunning.

2. It will be remembered that in consequence of a letter addressed to the Emigrants' Information Office on the 13th October last, by a Mr. W. Nightingale, of Preston, a telegram was sent to the Governor-General of Canada asking whether the advertisement calling for printers on behalf of the Winnipeg Printers' Board of Trade, which had been inserted in the English newspapers by Mr. Brunning, was genuine, and that Lord Grey replied by telegram that the Secretary of the

Printers' Board of Trade at Winnipeg reported that Mr. Brunning was authorized to secure eighty compositor printers and linotype operators for Winnipeg and the North-West.

3. I am to enquire whether Lord Grey's telegram was communicated to Mr. Nightingale; whether similar enquiries were received at the Emigrants' Information Office from any other persons, and, if so, what answers were returned; whether you can recognize among the signatures appended to the petition the names of any persons who had corresponded with your office; and whether you are aware of the acceptance of Mr. Brunning's offer by any of your correspondents.

4. Any further information in your possession, likely to assist Lord Elgin in considering the action to be taken on the petition, will be welcome.

5. Lord Elgin is inclined to think that in order to prevent similar complaints in the future and for other reasons, it would be desirable that when the attention of the Emigrants' Information Office is attracted to a request for a large number of skilled artizans, for employment in a Colony where, *prima facie*, there should be no deficiency of such men, enquiries should be set on foot to ascertain whether the demand is in consequence of a labour dispute; and, if it is found that this is the case, that a public warning should be issued. His Lordship will be glad to have the observations of your Committee on this suggestion.

I am, &c.,
C. P. LUCAS.

No. 3.

THE EMIGRANTS' INFORMATION OFFICE to COLONIAL OFFICE.

(Received February 9, 1906.)

SIR, 31, Broadway, Westminster, S.W., February 9, 1906.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge your letter of February 5th, 1906,* and am desired to state as follows, for the information of the Earl of Elgin:—

2. On the 13th October, 1905, and following days several letters were received here from English printers requesting information as to the bona fides of an advertisement in English newspapers inviting printers to go to Canada.

The following is the advertisement as it appeared in the "Yorkshire Post" of the 10th October:—

"First Class Job Compositors and competent Linotype Operators required immediately to proceed to Canada; permanent situations guaranteed each man before leaving Liverpool; wages 18 dollars (£3 15s.) per week of 53 hours. Applicants must be prepared to pay own passage out, and be ready to sail with employers represented first week in November.—Reply to 'Canada,' care Charles Birchall (Ltd.), Liverpool."

One of these correspondents—Mr. Jackson—enclosed a letter, of which the following is a copy:—

"The Winnipeg Printers' Board of Trade,
"175, McDermot Avenue, Winnipeg, Canada.

"Personally-Conducted Printers' Tour to Canada, November, 1905.

"Charles Brunning, Manager,
"237, Liscard Road, Liscard, Liverpool.

"F. Jackson,
"7, Wyke Ave.,
"Selby Street,
"Hull,

"If you are about to depart to the States there is no reason why you should not come in with me, and I offer you an engagement. I shall be glad

if you will forward at least one copy of a reference. You will find Canadian and American workmen work side by side in Winnipeg, and you are quite close to the States from this centre should you ever wish to go there. Wire me your decision and forward deposit money to either myself or Allan's direct when your guarantee will be forwarded you."

The Committee had no information as to Mr. Brunning, or as to the reason for this sudden demand for printers, and they therefore sent the following, or somewhat similar reply, to each of their correspondents:—

"The Committee are making enquiries as to this tour and will let you know as soon as possible. Meanwhile, they recommend you not to pay away any money for this tour. The wages given are about correct, but the Committee are not aware that there is such a large demand for printers as is stated."

Meanwhile the Committee were making enquiries from the High Commissioner for Canada—who could give them no information—and from other sources, but without success.

On the 16th October, as letters were still coming in, they asked the Colonial Office to be good enough to cable out to Canada. This was done, and on the 23rd October an answer was received that Mr. Brunning was authorised to secure eighty compositors, printers, and linotype operators for Winnipeg and the North West.

On the same day the Committee accordingly sent the following further reply to each of its correspondents, including Mr. Nightingale.

"With further reference to my letter of, &c., the Committee have been making enquiries in Canada, and are informed that Mr. Brunning is authorised to secure eighty compositors, printers, and linotype operators for Winnipeg and the North West.

"Printers have been busy but the Committee doubt whether there is so much demand for more men at the present time, unless local men are displaced.

"The wages offered are about correct. Printers who go should see that they are guaranteed permanent employment."

For a few days previous to this the Committee had some information from unofficial sources that there was a strike at Winnipeg, or that one was premeditated. But as Lord Grey had made no reference to it in his telegram, and as the Committee had had no official confirmation of its existence, it was not thought prudent to make direct mention of it.

On 26th October the usual monthly advance proof sheets of the Dominion "Labour Gazette" were received here, in which for the first time the strike was referred to.

The same day the following caution was sent to about 20 of the principal newspapers in the North of England, where most of the advertisements for printers were appearing:—

"The Emigrants' Information Office, 31, Broadway, Westminster, London, S.W., issue the following Caution:—

"In view of the fact that considerable numbers of printers are being advertised for in this country by the Winnipeg Printers' Board of Trade, at Winnipeg, Canada, to go to Winnipeg, it is necessary to bear the following facts in mind. There is a movement by printers in many places in Canada to have their hours reduced from 9 to 8 a day. At Winnipeg 9 employing job firms have granted this reduction, but 16 other firms have refused, and a strike has begun on 15th September last.

"Printers, therefore, who answer these advertisements should take into account the above-mentioned strike. The number of compositor printers and linotype operators wanted for Winnipeg and the North West was stated by the employers to be 80.

"Speaking generally, printers were busy throughout Canada during the month of September. The wages of hand compositors at Winnipeg average 3 dollars to 3.33 dollars a day."

In the Report on "Employment in the Colonies," which is compiled by this office each month in the "Board of Trade Labour Gazette," it was stated:—

November, 1905.—"At Winnipeg there has been a strike of printers owing to several employers refusing to reduce the hours of labour from 9 to 8 a day."

December, 1905.—"The printers' strike at Winnipeg continued during October, and there was little prospect of a settlement."

January, 1906.—"The strike of printers at Winnipeg was still unsettled on November 30th last. About 70 printers have arrived from Great Britain and have overstocked the market."

This Committee is not aware whether any of its correspondents accepted Mr. Brunning's offer. None of those—whose names are appended to the petition—appear to have corresponded with this office; unless the petitioner "W. Stebbings" is identical with "J. W. Stebbings," of 33, Timberhill, Norwich, who wrote on the 16th October last, and who received the same reply as the other correspondents.

With regard to the Earl of Elgin's suggestion as to the issue of a public warning in cases of strikes, I am to state that this will be carefully attended to by the Committee.

The Committee, in March last, asked the Labour Department in Canada to send to them special information by cable when necessary, but the Department did not see their way to do this.

If the petitioners are correct in saying that Mr. Brunning in Canada induced them to emigrate by false representations it is submitted that he may have made himself liable there to the penalties contained in Chapter 16 of the Dominion Acts of 1905.

I have, &c.,
STAMFORD,
Acting Chairman.

No. 4.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE to THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

MY LORD,

Downing Street, February 21, 1906.

WITH reference to my predecessor's telegram of the 15th October last, and to yours in reply of the 20th idem,* I have the honour to forward, to be laid before your Ministers, copy of a petition† which has been addressed to the King by a number of printers who were recently induced to emigrate from this country to Canada by Mr. C. Brunning.

2. I shall be obliged if you will cause the petitioners to be informed that their petition was duly received by the King; that His Majesty has been pleased to command me, in the first instance, to refer it to your Ministers for report, and that I have no doubt that it will receive their careful consideration.

3. A similar memorial has been addressed to the Prime Minister also, and I shall be glad if its receipt can be acknowledged at the same time.

4. I enclose also a copy of a correspondence‡ with the Emigrants' Information Office on the subject of the complaint of these men. If the statements made in the petition are correct, a serious injustice would appear to have been done. In any case you will agree that the matter calls for careful investigation, and that if the complaint is well founded, everything possible should be done to secure redress for the petitioners.

* Not printed.

† No. 1.

‡ Nos. 2 and 3.

5. You will, of course, not fail to draw the attention of your Ministers to the last paragraph of the letter from the Emigrants' Information Office.

I have, &c.,
ELGIN.

No. 5.

COLONIAL OFFICE to THE EMIGRANTS' INFORMATION OFFICE.

MY LORD.

Downing Street, February 22, 1906.

I AM directed by the Earl of Elgin to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 9th instant,* on the subject of the petition addressed to His Majesty the King by certain British printers now at Winnipeg.

2. Lord Elgin appreciates the careful attention which the letter from this Office of the 5th instant† has received at the hands of the Committee, and he is pleased to note the active steps taken by them as soon as definite information was received that a printers' strike was proceeding at Winnipeg.

3. A copy of the despatch‡ which Lord Elgin has addressed to the Governor-General of Canada is enclosed for the information of the Committee.

I am, &c.,
H. BERTRAM COX.

No. 6.

MESSRS. CAMPBELL, PITBLADO, AND COMPANY to COLONIAL OFFICE.

(Received March 9, 1906.)

Bank of Hamilton Chambers, Winnipeg, Manitoba,
February 19, 1906.

Re Printers' Strike in Winnipeg.

DEAR SIR,

ON the 16th of September, 1905, the Typographical Union of Printers in Winnipeg ordered a strike, demanding eight hours per day as the time to work at the same rate as the former day of nine hours, and demanding a "closed shop," that is, that none but union workmen should be employed in any of the shops. On the master printers refusing to accede to their demands, a strike was ordered. The master printers, in order to get a sufficient number of workmen, brought from England some 60 employees. Everything apparently worked harmoniously with these men until about the 2nd of January, 1906, when, under inducement from the Typographical Union, they left their employment. These men, it may be stated, have no grievance whatever against the master printers, but have seen fit to address a letter to the Press, and have made the statement that they are forwarding it to the State Officials of Canada and Great Britain. The master printers have felt it but right that they should reply to some of the misstatements contained in the printers' statement, and accordingly have asked us to forward you the enclosed statement, the original of which is signed by nearly all the large printing firms in the City of Winnipeg.

Yours truly,
CAMPBELL, PITBLADO AND COMPANY.

The Secretary of Colonies,
Colonial Office,
Westminster,
London, England.

Enclosure in No. 6.

STATEMENT OF MASTER PRINTERS.

SIR,

A LETTER which appeared recently in the Press of Winnipeg, and purported to be signed by certain English printers, who left the employment of the master printers of Winnipeg on January 2nd, 1906, under pressure from the Typographical Union in furtherance of an effort by that Union to enforce the eight hour day, and to compel a closed shop, while purporting to give "a true report of the facts," by which these printers were induced to come to this country, in reality greatly distorts the facts, the evident intention of the writers being that other British workmen may be prevented from coming to Manitoba, and that so the striking printers may be assisted.

Under the circumstances, we, the undersigned employers, deem it but right that we should put before the public the true state of affairs.

The facts are as follows:—

On the 16th of September, 1905, the Typographical Union of Winnipeg demanded from the master printers that the working hours be reduced from nine hours per day to eight hours per day on the same pay as before, and that none but Union men would be employed by the master printers, demanding in other words, "closed shop." The employing printers refused to concede to the demands of the Union, being specially strong on the point that they had a right to run an open shop if they so desired. They accordingly decided to send to Great Britain for workmen, and agreed to pay the prevailing scale of wages. They accepted the offer of Mr. Charles Brunning to go to England as their agent, and Mr. Brunning duly advertised for men, and offered \$18.00 a week for compositors, and \$20.00 a week for linotype operators, the week to consist of 53 hours, or nine hours per day, this being agreed to by the master printers. The necessary men were secured, being selected out of a great many who applied for employment, and on being brought to Winnipeg were duly put to work, and everything appeared to be satisfactory. Mr. Brunning, at the time of employing the men, offered an agreement for two years, and while he was not authorized to do this by the employers, yet, on learning of it they decided to live up to it, and did so. The employers, on the men arriving in Winnipeg, found there were more men than were actually required, but nevertheless, they paid the wages of the men who were not employed the same as those who were employed, pending the time when all could be given satisfactory employment. The statement of the printers claims that large sums of money are now owing by the masters to members of the party. This statement is absolutely untrue, the only men who have not been paid up in full up to the present time being three in number; one of these claimed pay from the Secretary for three days; another for 10 days, and a third for two weeks, all idle time. Owing to the Secretary of the Employers' Association being absent from the city, these claims lay in abeyance for a short time. One of the men unpaid when sent to an office to work refused to go; another was placed in four different offices and reported as incompetent by each of his employers, but was, notwithstanding, offered his fare back to England. He, however, refused to go. These are the only cases in which there has been any claim for wages, or for idle time by any of the men brought from England, which have not been paid up to the present. The employers are quite prepared to carry out to the letter the terms of the hiring with these men. They hired willingly knowing the hours of service and the wages which would be paid, and their only reason for now leaving the masters is their pressure from the Typographical Union of Winnipeg. In fact, up to the 2nd of January, 1906, there was the greatest harmony between the British printers and the employers, and the masters and the employers have never in any way heard of any grievance that the British printers had. A further misstatement appears in said letter to the effect that some of their number had been sent over the border to act as strike breakers in the United States of America. The facts are, that only two of the British printers went to the United States, and they went of their own free will. Letters have been received from both of these men stating their entire satisfaction, and that they did not wish to return; although they were assured by the masters that they could come back at any time, and would receive employment. These British workmen were not, therefore, used in any way as strike breakers in the United States of America. The letter of the British printers states that their

action in writing the letter was entirely of their own free will and suggestion. The letter was obviously written at the suggestion and for the benefit of the Typographical Union of Winnipeg, and to assist it in its present strike, and for the purpose of deterring any more Britishers coming to Canada. The Winnipeg Typographical Union is a member of the great American Labour Trust, and the Winnipeg strike is a portion of the general strike which has been ordered by the Labour Union of the United States. The master printers here feel that the relations of their employees to themselves should not be governed or controlled by any United States Labour Union or organization, and that the employers should be free to hire any person whom they like entirely free from the dictation of the Labour Union. The master printers of Winnipeg have a reputation of having always dealt fairly and honorably with all their employees, and they feel that the strike which has been brought upon them by the Labour Union is not in a just cause, and that the tactics which have been followed by the Union in inducing employees to leave their employment, even although in many cases they were under written contract to perform their work, does not reflect any credit either on the union or on the printers who have thus deserted the employment which they were so anxious to obtain before leaving England.

THE MOORE PRINTING COMPANY, LIMITED,
WM. MOORE, President.

BULMAN BROS.
THE STOVEL COMPANY.
E. N. RUGG COMPANY.
EDGAR N. RUGG.
McINTYRE BROS.
DOUGLAS PRINTING AND BINDING COMPANY.
THE FRANKLIN PRESS, LIMITED.
TORONTO TYPE FOUNDRY COMPANY, LIMITED.
JAMES B. BROWN.
THE WILLSON STATIONERY COMPANY, LIMITED.
THE WATSON AND LANE COMPANY,
per W. R. WATSON.
THE KINGDOM PRINTING COMPANY.
DER NORTHWESTERN-PUBL. CO., LIMITED.
THE PEEL PRINTING COMPANY.

Winnipeg, February, 1906.

No. 7.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE to THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

MY LORD,

Downing Street, March 17, 1906.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 21st ultimo,* I have the honour to transmit to you, to be laid before your Ministers, a copy of a letter† from Messrs. Campbell, Pitblado and Company, of Winnipeg, enclosing a copy of a statement by the master printers of that town, in reply to the allegations of certain British printers who were recently induced to emigrate from England.

2. I shall be obliged if the writers may be informed that their communication has been received, and if you will move your Ministers to take it into consideration, with the papers enclosed in my despatch under reference.

I have, &c.,
ELGIN.

No. 8.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL to THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

(Received May 2, 1906.)

MY LORD,

Government House, Ottawa, April 18, 1906.

IN reply to Your Lordship's despatch of the 21st February last,* in regard to complaints made by certain printers who were induced to emigrate to Canada from the United Kingdom by the representations of Mr. C. Brunning, I have the honour to enclose a copy of an approved Minute of the Privy Council, submitting a report from the Deputy Minister of Labour, in which he embodies the results of an investigation made by him at Winnipeg into the subject matter of the complaints referred to.

Your Lordship will observe that this report fully justifies the complaint of the printers, who, it finds, were induced to come to this country by false and fraudulent representations.

Your Lordship will also note that as the scope of the Dominion Act, Chapter 16 of 1905, is restricted to offences committed in Canada, Mr. Brunning appears not to have rendered himself liable to any penalty under that Act.

It is suggested, however, that a remedy to meet future cases of a similar character might be provided by Imperial legislation analogous to the Dominion Act.

I have, &c.,
GREY.

Enclosure in No. 8.

EXTRACT from a Report of the Committee of the Honourable the Privy Council, approved by the Governor-General on the 5th April, 1906.

The Committee of the Privy Council have had under consideration a despatch, dated 21st February, 1906, from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, with regard to the efforts made to induce the emigration of compositors, printers, and linotype operators to Winnipeg, and containing a copy of a petition addressed to His Majesty the King and to the Prime Minister of Great Britain by a number of printers recently induced to emigrate from England to Canada by Mr. Charles Brunning.

The Minister of Labour, to whom the said despatch was referred, reports that he has caused the matter of the said petition to be carefully investigated by Mr. Mackenzie King, the Deputy Minister of Labour, whose report thereon he submits herewith.

The Minister is of the opinion that an Act passed by the British Parliament, with a view to prevent false representations in the United Kingdom to induce or deter emigration to Canada similar to the Canadian Act (4-5 Edward VII., Chap. 16) would prove a means of preventing such false representations as are complained of by the British printers in their petition, and would be in the interest of the people of this country as well as of Great Britain.

The Minister recommends that a copy of this report be forwarded to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and that the attention of His Majesty's Ministers in Great Britain be drawn to the above paragraph respecting the advisability of enacting legislation in Great Britain for the purpose of preventing false representations in that country to induce or deter emigration to Canada.

The Committee, concurring in the foregoing, advise that His Excellency be moved to forward a copy hereof and of the report of the Deputy Minister of Labour hereto attached, to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

All which is respectfully submitted for approval.

JOHN J. MCGEE,
Clerk of the Privy Council.

Department of Labour, Canada, Ottawa, March 31, 1906.

The Honourable A. B. Aylesworth, K.C., M.P.,
Minister of Labour.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to make the following report on the results of an investigation made, in accordance with your instructions, into the representations of a party of British printers in a memorial addressed, in January of the present year, to His Majesty King Edward the Seventh, and to the Right Honourable the Prime Minister of Great Britain, which communications were referred by His Excellency in Council to the Department of Labour for consideration and report.

My investigation was conducted at Winnipeg on the 19th, 20th, and 21st instant, during which time I had interviews with fifteen of the thirty-seven printers whose signatures were attached to the memorial in question, this number representing practically all of those whose names were signed to the memorial, and who are now residing in Winnipeg. I also had interviews with some twenty-three of the master printers of Winnipeg, who have been immediately interested in or affected by the bringing out of the party of British printers referred to; with printers subsequently brought to this country from England, with officers of the Winnipeg Typographical Union, and with other persons who were in a position to give authoritative information in the matter.

I am pleased to report that, as to the main facts, there was very little conflict in the statements made by the several parties interviewed.

That my report may be as brief and direct as possible, I have adopted the method of setting forth the several representations made by the printers, in the order in which they appear in the memorial, and the result of my investigation, in regard to each of these representations, immediately after the particular representation to which it refers. I have concluded the report with a brief summary of the results of the investigation, and a recommendation which the importance of the subject appears to warrant.

It is alleged by the printers:—

1. That they were induced to leave Great Britain and come to this country in consequence of advertisements which appeared in leading newspapers in Great Britain and Ireland in October last, for compositors and linotype operators, to form a party called "A personally conducted printers' tour to Canada," under the auspices of the Winnipeg Printers' Board of Trade, a certain Mr. C. Brunning acting as agent and conducting the party; that all applicants were requested to submit testimonials, and that those selected were given a two years' guarantee of work.

These representations appear to be correct. All of the party of English printers whom I interviewed stated that it was through advertisements inserted in the press that they came in the first instance into correspondence with Brunning. The London "Daily News," the "Yorkshire Post," the "Manchester Guardian," the "Glasgow Herald," the "Liverpool Echo," and the "Western Morning News" of Devonshire, were among the papers mentioned by the printers as having contained an advertisement, either identical with or similar to the following:—

"Job compositors, first class, and competent linotype operators, required immediately, to proceed to Canada; permanent situations guaranteed each man before leaving Liverpool; wages, 18 dollars (£3 15s.) per week of 53 hours; applicants must be prepared to pay own passage out, and be ready to sail with employers' representative first week in November.—Reply to 'Canada,' care of Charles Birchall, Limited, Liverpool."

Successful applicants received a communication from Brunning something as follows:—

"The Winnipeg Printers' Board of Trade,
"175, McDermot Avenue, Winnipeg, Canada.

"PERSONALLY CONDUCTED PRINTERS' TOUR TO CANADA, NOVEMBER, 1905.

"Chas. Brunning,
"Manager.

"DEAR SIR,

237, Liscard Road, Liscard, Liverpool, October 13, 1905.

"If you will send me satisfactory reference I will offer you an engagement with me as compositor in Winnipeg, conditionally that you agree to the enclosed particulars.

Wire me your decision; forward deposit money to myself or to Allan's direct, and I will send you guarantee.

"Yours faithfully,
"(Sd.) CHARLES BRUNNING."

"Mr. _____"

(Enclosure.)

"Reply to 237, Liscard Road, Liscard, Liverpool.

"PERSONALLY CONDUCTED PRINTERS' TOUR TO CANADA, NOVEMBER, 1905.

"In reply to your letter *re* application for job printer or linotype operator for Canada, please read carefully the following particulars:—

"(1) I guarantee each man selected by me a permanent situation at the following rate of wages: Job printers, 18 dollars (£3 15s. per week of 53 hours); linotype operators, 20 dollars (£4 3s. per week of 53 hours). This scale of wages is the minimum in Winnipeg. Most men who are a trifle above the average make from two dollars per week more, according to ability. The selected men are required to immediately proceed to Winnipeg. Those, however, who wish to proceed further west may do so, as there is a constant and ever-increasing demand for job printers and linotype operators throughout the entire Canadian North-West, as well as in the Eastern Provinces.

"(2) If you are selected you must be prepared to immediately pay a deposit of £2 on a second class fare direct to Winnipeg from Liverpool, and the balance must be paid at the Liverpool offices of the Allan Line Steamships to Canada on the date preceding or morning of sailing, when tickets will be issued through to Winnipeg. A deposit of £1 is required on the third class fare, balance to be paid in the same way as the second class fare. Under no consideration will any free passages be issued.

"(3) On behalf of the Winnipeg Printers' Board of Trade, I give a written guarantee to each man engaged on receipt of deposit money, and each man must be prepared to surrender at time of embarkation steamship and railway tickets into the hands of the employers' representative, who will also take control of baggage checks through to Winnipeg. A second class ocean and rail fare to Winnipeg by the new Allan Turbine Steamer 'Virginian,' leaving Liverpool on Thursday, October 26th, costs £12 6s. 8d., and a third class ocean and rail fare to Winnipeg costs £9 11s. 8d. Work begins immediately on arrival in Winnipeg, and every accommodation will be provided by the Winnipeg Board of Trade for the men's reception, lodgings and furnished rooms for married men, who propose to take their wives, being reserved at a moderate figure. Single men may procure excellent and superior board and lodgings, including three substantial meals per day, from 4½ to 5 dollars per week (18s. to £1). Cheaper lodgings may be had. The outfit consists of ordinary clothing with plenty of good warm underclothing and a heavy well-lined overcoat, which may be procured in Canada on arrival. In Winnipeg, the winter period sets in about the middle of November, but it is not particularly cold until January.

"(4) Applicants for these positions will kindly forward copies or originals of testimonials, specimens, if procurable, in order that a quick decision may be arrived at, as the short date to day of sailing will permit of no delay.

"(5) Second class berths will be reserved immediately on receipt of deposit money. Third class accommodation is arranged on the day of departure.

"If full particulars be forthcoming by post, men may be selected without the option of interview. In such cases, the deposit money may be forwarded to me direct, or to Messrs. Allan's, envelopes to be marked 'Printers' Tour.' Steamship and tourist agents are not permitted to book passages for this personally conducted party."

Where additional information was requested by any of the printers as to conditions in Canada, the reply which appears to have been sent by Brunning was in the nature of a mere acknowledgment enclosing a reprint of an article purporting to have been published in the "Liverpool Journal of Commerce," October 10, 1905, which, he stated, correctly described the condition of affairs in Canada. The reprint is as follows:—

"EXTRACT from 'LIVERPOOL JOURNAL OF COMMERCE,' Tuesday, October 10th, 1905.

"NEWSPAPER DEVELOPMENT IN CANADA.

"The phenomenal development of the agricultural and mineral resources of Canada, particularly in the North-West Territories, has had the effect of increasing the number and scope of newspapers in general, and the printing trade in particular. Owing to the rapidity with which townships are established, a large number of new publications appear—in fact, the increase in newspapers alone averages three per diem. The increase is far ahead of the means at hand to meet the demand for 'hands,' hence there is a great scarcity of capable workmen conversant with the various methods of typesetting and printing. It is questionable whether, owing to the demand created by new journals

and the development and refitting of new machinery by the older organs, any industry in Canada has a need so great as that of printing in proportion to the available members. Lino. experts command immediate and profitable employment, and men with this business in their hands, and a little capital in their pockets, will find Canada an ample field for their every resource."

The conditions of the above enclosure having been complied with, a guarantee of employment for two years was given in the following form to each member of the party:—

"Reply to Liscard.

"The Winnipeg Printers' Board of Trade,
175, McDermot Avenue, Winnipeg, Canada.

"PERSONALLY CONDUCTED PRINTERS' TOUR TO CANADA, NOVEMBER, 1905.

"Chas. Brunning.

"Manager.

"GUARANTEE.

"237, Liscard Road, Liscard, Liverpool, October, 1905.

"On behalf of the Winnipeg Printers' Board of Trade I hereby guarantee Mr. a permanent situation at _____ dollars per week in Winnipeg, work to start immediately on arrival. Hours, 53. This guarantee is given for two years, and conditionally that he does his work faithfully and well.

(Signed) CHAS. BRUNNING."

In one or two cases the guarantee was for permanent employment, but in the majority of cases two years was specified.

2. That "enquiries were made at the Canadian Immigration Department, also their agents, the head officials of the Allan Steamship Company at Liverpool, and of Mr. C. Brunning himself, and that each and every one gave an assurance that all was genuine and that all trust could be put in the Printers' Board of Trade agent."

I was unable to discover from any of the printers evidence to justify the statement that the Canadian Immigration Department, or any of the Canadian Emigration Agents had in any way given assurances as to Brunning or as to his representations. In fact, the following extract from a communication to the Right Honourable the Prime Minister from Mr. Kempton McKim, President of the Winnipeg Typographical Union, and dated Winnipeg, March 14, 1906, a copy of which was shown me by the writer in the presence of a number of the English printers, and concurred in by them, would indicate that the immigration officials of this country did not in any way assist or encourage any of the party of British printers to leave the United Kingdom for Canada:—

"Winnipeg Typographical Union, No. 191.

"Winnipeg, Manitoba, March 14, 1906.

"To the Right Honourable Sir WILFRED LAURIER, G.C.M.G.

"SIR,—It has come to my knowledge that a letter was recently forwarded to you by a man named F. Lewis; at one time a member of the Winnipeg Typographical Union, making charges against Dominion Emigration Agents at Liverpool, of assisting and encouraging printers to come to this country to act as strike breakers.

"Lest it should be thought that Mr. Lewis represented our organization, I wish it to be known that he took this action without consulting the officers of this Union, and the charges he made I have since investigated and know that they are unfounded, the very opposite being the case. I quote an excerpt from a letter received from our representative in Liverpool:—

"I do not know of any Canadian Government official who encouraged men to leave England for Canada, though there may have been some. A. F. Jury is, I think, the name of the Dominion representative in Liverpool, and he proved to be one of our most active friends. He comes from Eastern Canada. . . . The Government Emigration Bureau in London also took a hand in the matter, and went to some pains to keep men from going. . . . Altogether, so far as I know, officials of both the British and Canadian Governments were fairer than we could expect."

"Hoping the foregoing explanation will be satisfactory,

"I remain, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

(Sgd.) KEMPTON MCKIM,

"President, Winnipeg Typographical Union, No. 191."

I questioned all the members of the party of British printers with whom I had interviews on this subject, and they were all agreed that the emigration officials had not in any way encouraged them to leave England.

As to assurances given by the head officials of the Allan Steamship Company at Liverpool, I was unable to discover what particular officials of the company were referred to. Such assurances as were given by any of the Allan officials appear to have been mainly assurances by the agents with whom the deposits were made, or from whom the tickets were purchased, that so far as the transportation was concerned the representations made by Brunning to the printers were correct.

3. That "Mr. Brunning gave an assurance that all was genuine, and that the reason of the party was that the Canadian North-West was growing so fast and that newspapers were being started, and that men could not be found to fill the situations."

This appears to be a correct statement of the facts. Brunning appears to have represented throughout that the demand for printers which his party was intended to meet, was in consequence of the growth of the Canadian North-West, and the need of printers to fill situations on newspapers which were being started. He appears to have carefully concealed in every way the fact that there was a strike of printers in Canada at the time, and to have denied emphatically that any such existed when questioned in reference to the matter. When interrogated by letter as to a strike in Canada he appears to have evaded the question by enclosing printed copies of the extract from the "Liverpool Journal of Commerce" above quoted, or to have given misleading replies.

The following is an extract from a letter written by Brunning to one of the party, James Campbell, of Rothsay, and dated Liverpool, October 20th, with which was enclosed the reprint from the "Liverpool Journal of Commerce":—

"The enclosed paragraph, which I have had reprinted, correctly states the condition of things in Canada. We have the finest country in the world there."

A letter sent to another member of the party, Alexander McQueen, Portobello, dated Liverpool, October 15, and signed by Brunning, has the following:—

"You will find many of your countrymen doing well in Winnipeg, and the warm hand of fellowship will be extended to you everywhere."

The originals of both these communications were shown me by the persons to whom they were addressed.

The following letter, signed by Brunning, written to one of the English printers in reply to a letter from him concerning rumours of a strike in Canada, speaks for itself. The original letter is now in the Department of Labour:—

"Reply to Liscard,

"The Winnipeg Printers' Board of Trade,
175, McDermot Avenue, Winnipeg, Canada.

"PERSONALLY CONDUCTED PRINTERS' TOUR TO CANADA, NOVEMBER, 1905.

"Chas. Brunning,
"Manager.

"237, Liscard Road, Liscard, Liverpool.

"Mr. J. Baxter,
"Christchurch, Hants.

"DEAR SIR,

October 21, 1905.

"You need have no fear. I know the individuals who have been busy with our affairs, and, between ourselves, I may tell you that I have taken immediate action against them for unlawfully and wilfully attempting to defeat the honourable intentions of the Winnipeg Printers' Board of Trade. These men (certain Union officials) have confused Canada with the States, and, as you know, we are quite a separate country, and do not come under their laws at all. In fact, we pride ourselves on being good, honest, law-abiding and God-fearing Britons. I give you a two years' guarantee to start work right away with us. The Winnipeg Printers' Board is composed of all the master printers in Winnipeg, and has several Englishmen, as well as Canadians, on its roll of membership. You will be amongst good men, who want you, are willing to pay you as they state, and who have no reason to send you away at the expiration of your contract. We have a difficulty in getting men in Winnipeg, and all through the North-West. Because I come over here on a business trip to buy material and take back a few men with me,

I am subjected to annoyance from silly Union officials, who would be more honourably occupied in looking after their own affairs. These men live in constant expectation of strikes, and do not scruple to cause endless trouble meddling with other folks' business. Winnipeg welcomes you, wants you. We hold out the warm hand of fellowship to you. Come and earn real good dollars.

"Yours faithfully,
" (Sgd.) C. BRUNNING."

4. That on first touching Canadian soil information came to their ears that the Winnipeg printers were then conducting a peaceful strike, and that they were intended to fill their places; that on holding an informal meeting in the ship's cabin, and calling in Mr. Brunning for an explanation, he gave assurances that there had been a strike, but that all was again settled; that the party disembarked at Quebec and afterwards took train to Winnipeg; that on arriving at Fort William they learned from the press that the strike was still on.

It would appear from the interviews I had with the printers that these representations are not strictly accurate as to the time and place at which the incidents which they recite occurred. However, the main representation, namely, that the printers were brought over to fill the places of men on strike, and that Brunning denied this emphatically, and gave repeated assurances that there was no strike in Winnipeg, would appear to be entirely correct. It would seem that a number of the English printers had not heard even of the rumour of a strike in Canada before leaving Liverpool. Others appear to have had intimations from one source or another that there was a strike, though this was not until they had left their homes, purchased tickets and were ready to sail for Canada.

A meeting appears to have been held in the ship's cabin a day or two after the vessel sailed, at which Brunning was questioned as to whether or not there was a strike of printers in Canada, and he appears at this meeting to have given positive assurances that there was not. It also appears that he was questioned again on this point after the ship had reached Canada and copies of Canadian newspapers had been obtained by the printers, and that he again gave positive assurances that there was no strike. He appears to have persisted in these assurances until the party of printers reached Kenora, a short distance from Winnipeg, at which place the employers or their agents came aboard the train to engage the men.

5. That their train was due in Winnipeg on Sunday evening, but that their car was put off at Kenora for the night, and that they were brought to Winnipeg on the following morning.

This representation appears to be correct. The car containing the printers appears to have been left overnight at Kenora, so as to give opportunity to the employers at Winnipeg, or their agents, who were being affected by the strike, to engage members of the party before they reached Winnipeg.

6. That on arrival in Winnipeg the British printers were received peacefully by the striking printers, and, being situated as they were, had no alternative but to go to work, for a time at least, and that some of their party were early informed that their guarantees of work were no good, and not worth the paper they were written on.

This representation appears to be correct. It is not only affirmed by several of the printers that they were informed that their guarantees were no good and not worth the paper they were written on, but the master printers claim that such is true at the present time, and admit, in some cases, that they so informed the printers after their arrival, though it is contended by the masters that this statement had reference to the legal and not to the moral obligation which the guarantee imposed.

7. That recently some of the number have been sent over the border to act as strike breakers in the United States.

I was unable to secure any evidence to justify this representation. Some of the printers stated that an effort had been made by certain of the employers to have them seek work in the United States, and that they had been offered return transportation to one of the cities in the United States, and informed as to where they

might expect to secure employment there. One of the employers admitted to me having offered transportation to certain of the printers, but said that the offer had been rejected. There is nothing to show that the employers could or did in any way compel any of the party of printers to go to the United States against their own free will. While some members of the party appear to have gone to the United States, others refused to accept the inducements which were offered to them to go.

8. That others of the party possessing a two years' guarantee of work had to lie idle a good deal, and were being owed large sums of money by the masters.

I was unable to secure evidence to justify the impression which this representation is apt to convey. With a very few exceptions all of the printers appear to have received immediate employment, and it is admitted that in one or two of the exceptional cases, the men received pay either in part or in full for the time they were idle. Only three cases were brought to my notice in which it was alleged that amounts are still owing because of inability to secure continuous employment, and in these cases the amounts claimed are not large. I do not feel in a position to express an opinion as to the justice of these claims, as I have only the conflicting statements of the parties interested.

9. That they were brought to act in a position which not one single member of the party would have filled had the true facts been stated in Great Britain.

The position referred to in this representation is that of having been brought to fill the places of men on strike, or, in other words, to act as "strike breakers." I carefully questioned on this point all the printers whose signatures were attached to the memorial, and with whom I had interviews, and they were emphatic in their statement that had they known it was the intention that they were to fill the places of men on strike they would certainly not have left England to come to this country.

Having dealt with the representations of the printers in their memorial. I feel that, in justice to all parties concerned, the statement of the master printers, published as a reply to the memorial of the British printers, and also forwarded to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in England, and to the Secretary of State in Canada, and referred to the Department of Labour for report, should be given a like prominence. As the statement does not appear to conflict in any material way with the findings which I have made in regard to the representations of the British printers, but rather confirms these findings in several particulars, I feel that for the purposes of this investigation the statement of the master printers may be admitted without comment, other than observing that the statement makes no reference to the alleged false representations made by Brunning in England, and which is the one important matter of the whole situation. Also, that while the statement of the master printers specifically denies that these British workmen were used in any way as strike breakers in the United States, a similar denial is not made as to their having been used as strike breakers in Canada. On the other hand, it is stated that some of their own employees having gone on strike, the employing printers decided to send to Great Britain for workmen, and accepted the offer of Mr. Charles Brunning to go as their agent.

The statement of the master printers also contains the following declaration:—
 "The Winnipeg Typographical Union is a member of the great American labour trust, and the Winnipeg strike is a portion of the general strike which has been ordered by the Labour Union of the United States. The master printers here feel that the relations of their employees to themselves should not be governed or controlled by any United States labour union or organization." The statement of the master printers while making this mention of the international character of the union to which the printers on strike belong, makes no mention of the fact that the Winnipeg Typothetæ, which is the organization to which the master printers themselves belong, is a branch of the United Typothetæ of America, an organization of employers, with headquarters in the United States, which organization is as much concerned in the strike of printers for the eight-hour day as is the International Typographical Union. What may be said of the union of workmen in this connection may be said with equal truth of the union of employers.

The statement of the master printers is as follows :—

See No. 6, page 7.

The really important question in connection with the whole matter is, what were the representations which induced the English printers to come to Canada, and were these representations true or false?

My investigation has shown that the real grievance of which the English printers complain is the injustice which was done them in inducing them to leave their homes in England and come to Canada, with the expectation that the employment which they were to receive was to be in connection with new papers starting up in Canada in consequence of the Western development, and to meet the demand for which there was not a sufficient supply of printers in Canada, whereas they were, in reality, brought under false pretences to take the places of fellow craftsmen who were conducting a peaceful strike, in other words, to act as "strike breakers."

Taking into consideration only such facts as have been admitted by each of the parties, or have not been called in question in the public statement either has issued, it appears beyond doubt that Brunning went to England as the agent of certain master printers in Winnipeg, whose employees were on strike, he was paid for so doing, and the express purpose of his mission was to bring out men to fill the places of the men on strike; that Brunning deliberately and intentionally misrepresented the facts to the men whom he induced to come to Canada, or to most of them, by representing that they were brought to Canada to fill positions which the growth of the printing trade in the west had created, and which they could fill in an honourable way, also by carefully concealing, as well as denying, the existence of any strike in Winnipeg, or any intention on his part to have them act as strike breakers, whereas he knew all the time of the existence of the Winnipeg strike, and had, as the chief object of his mission, the securing of men to fill the places of Canadian workmen on strike; moreover, that he misrepresented the true facts in advertising himself, whether intentionally or unintentionally, as the agent of the Winnipeg Printers' Board of Trade, when, according to the declared resolution of that Board, he was not their agent; and also in giving, in the name of that body, a two years' or permanent guarantee of work to each of the persons he engaged, which purported to be a genuine agreement, but which is admitted by the parties in whose name it was given, not to be worth the paper it was written upon.

In my opinion, too much importance cannot be attached to the serious nature of the fraudulent practices to which the English printers have directed the attention of the public authorities, or to the possible consequences which may follow a continuation of such practices. A strike presents a situation serious enough of itself, without that situation being aggravated through any concealment of facts or false representations which may draw innocent third parties into the conflict, subjecting them to opprobrium which is undeserved, and arousing feelings of antagonism to fellow-workmen in other parts of the Empire where there should be only the most cordial relationships. Canadian working men are not complaining, in this connection, against men being employed to take their places while on strike; this is an alternative they are obliged to face once they declare a strike; they are asking only that in such a situation a sense of fair play shall prevail, and that neither party shall profit at the expense of the other through practices which place innocent third parties in a false position. If a man wishes to take a place which has been rendered vacant through another going out on strike, he has a perfect right to do so. In view, however, of the possible consequences of such action on his part, it is in justice to him that he should understand the circumstances of his hiring in this connection. It is also due to the working men of Canada, that, in the public interest, that a feeling of antagonism should not be engendered towards British working men through advantage being taken of their ignorance of the true condition of affairs, to induce them to come to this country to fill a position which they would not be prepared to occupy were they in possession of the true facts. It is also due to Canada itself, and in particular to its immigration interests in Great Britain, that no suspicion should be cast on representations made in Great Britain for the purpose of furthering emigration to this country.

The Parliament of Canada last year passed an "Act respecting false representations to Induce or Deter Immigration." (4-5 Edward VII., chap. 16.) This Act was passed with a view of preventing just such fraudulent representations as the

W. L. MACKENZIE KING,
Deputy Minister of Labour.

Chap. 16.

[Assented to 20th July, 1905.]

<p>1. Every person who does, in Canada, anything for the purpose of causing or procuring the publication or circulation, by advertisement or otherwise, in a country outside of Canada, of false representations as to the opportunities for employment in Canada, or as to the state of the labour market in Canada, intended or adapted to encourage or induce, or to deter or prevent, the immigration into Canada of persons resident in that country, or who does anything in Canada for the purpose of causing or procuring the communication to any resident of such country of any such false representations, shall, if any such false representations are thereafter so published, circulated or communicated, be guilty of an offence, and liable, on summary conviction before two justices of the peace, to a penalty of not more than one thousand dollars and not less than fifty dollars for each offence.</p>	<div style="text-align: right;">Offence described. Penalty.</div>
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THE SECRETARY OF STATE to THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

Downing Street, May 16, 1906.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 18th ultimo,* forwarding a report from the Deputy Minister of Labour with regard to the complaints made by certain printers who were induced to emigrate to Canada from the United Kingdom by the representations of Mr. C. Brunning.

2. I have to request you to thank your Ministers for the action which they have taken in the matter, and to assure them that their suggestion that a remedy

to meet future cases of a similar character might be provided by Imperial legislation will receive the careful consideration of His Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.,
ELGIN.

No. 10.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL to THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

(Received June 2, 1906.)

MY LORD,

Government House, Ottawa, May 17, 1906.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 18th April last,* on the subject of complaints made by certain printers who were induced to emigrate to this country from the United Kingdom by the false and fraudulent representations of Mr. C. Brunning, I have the honour to enclose a copy of a debate which took place in the House of Commons here on the 9th instant.

I would beg leave to draw Your Lordship's special attention to the speeches made by the Minister of Labour (The Honourable A. B. Aylesworth) and the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. R. L. Borden). You will observe that these gentlemen, representing the two sides of the House, are united in the view that it is desirable, in the interests of the people of the United Kingdom no less than in those of the people of Canada, that legislation should be enacted in the United Kingdom, in order that such cases can be dealt with. The scope of the Dominion Act, Chapter 16 of 1905, under which they could be prosecuted in Canada, is restricted to offences committed in this country.

Until such legislation is provided, men like Mr. Brunning would appear to be exempt from any penalty for fraudulent representations.

I have, &c.,
GREY.

Enclosure in No. 10.

IMMIGRATION FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM—FALSE REPRESENTATION.

Mr. RALPH SMITH moved:

"That whereas it appears that during recent years numbers of persons have been induced to come, or deterred from coming, to Canada from Great Britain and Ireland through false representations made to them in the United Kingdom as to the condition of the labour market in Canada;

"And whereas, by the passing of an Act respecting false representations to induce or deter immigration to Canada (4-5 Edward VII., Chapter 16), this Parliament has declared that legislation to prevent such false representations is necessary and desirable;

"And whereas, it appears that the purposes of Parliament in passing the Act (4-5 Edward VII., Chapter 16) would be furthered by the passing of similar legislation by the Parliament of Great Britain:

"That the Parliament of Canada believes it is in the interests of British subjects, both in the United Kingdom and Canada, such legislation should be considered favourably by the British Parliament;

"That this resolution be forwarded to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in order that such action may be taken thereon as His Majesty's advisers may deem meet."

He said: I must ask the indulgence of the House for a few minutes while I give some of the reasons which have induced me to make this motion. The motion does not in any way propose to interfere with the immigration policy of the Government, but is confined exclusively to the question of fraudulent representation made, both in this country and in England, for the purpose of inducing people to emigrate to Canada.

This is not the first time that this subject has come to the attention of the House. If I remember rightly it was in June, 1904, that I myself, in a question addressed to the Ministry, brought up the subject of fraudulent representation made in Great Britain to working men who were sent out to Canada by an employment agency known as the "Canadian Labour Bureau" in London, and at that time and since the Government, and in particular the Department of Labour, has been endeavouring to meet this evil whereby an injustice is done to persons in foreign countries and also to the working men of Canada. It is because the efforts of the Government in this direction have been only partially successful, and because I believe that some action such as this resolution suggests, is necessary in order to carry out the purposes of the Government in this regard, that I have introduced this resolution.

Since that time the Government have been doing everything possible to prevent such misrepresentation by advertising in the English and Scotch papers to the effect that the Government had nothing whatever to do with the so-called Canadian Labour Bureau, situated as it was, and influencing the people to come to this country by fraudulent misrepresentations. Whenever large industrial strikes or difficulties have existed in this country in the last few years complaints have been presented to the Government that persons have been brought out from Great Britain especially to disorganize the efforts that men were putting forward to demand what they considered to be their rights. In 1903, with regard to the strike which was occurring in Fernie, British Columbia, and with regard to the strike of the employees of the Canada Foundry Company of Toronto, there was a strong impression that these companies, in conjunction with the Manufacturers' Association, were, through the efforts of the Canadian Labour Bureau, making misrepresentations in England for the purpose of bringing men out. The Trades and Labour Council of the city of Toronto brought the matter to the attention of this Parliament through some of the hon. members from Toronto, and I myself, as I have just said, took part in the representations which were made in regard to certain persons. The Canadian Labour Bureau, which has been instrumental in sending men to this country, had an office in the same building as that in which is located the public immigration office of Canada—not at the same number, but certainly in the same building, and it had placed on its letter heads the Canadian Arms, conveying the impression that the Canadian Government was associated with its projects. The office being in the same building as that occupied by the Canadian Immigration Office men have thought that it was connected in one way or another with the Canadian Government, and thus it was enabled to influence men to come to this country through misrepresentation. When these matters were brought to the attention of the Government they took the only course that was open to them of advertising in the papers both in England and Scotland stating that this bureau in England was not a part of the immigration department of the Canadian Government. Then, a little later, a man named Graeme Hunter, in Glasgow, held himself out as an immigration agent and made fraudulent representations to men in Scotland who were brought to this country. Again the Government did what they could in order to prevent persons being deceived, by advertising in the press of these countries in regard to the matter.

When this matter was being investigated there developed in the city of Montreal a very serious condition of things, as the result of the operations of agencies which were bringing a large number of Italians to this country. These people were unable to find work, and had to be supported by the public charity of that city. Such alarm did the presence of these people create that the mayor of the city of Montreal was obliged to communicate with the Dominion Government and ask the Government if they could not take some steps to relieve this distress and stop the excessive immigration of these people to Canada. The Deputy Minister of Labour was immediately sent to Montreal to investigate the causes of these people having been brought to this country. While there he found that they had practically all been induced to come to Canada through false representations that had been made in Italy at the instance of one or two of the employment agencies in the city of Montreal. The devices used by these agencies to lure men to this country for the purpose of getting commissions from them and from the firms which they were supplying with labour are almost inconceivable in their number and variety. Just to mention one or two of these; a man named Cordasco, who was the head of one of the large employment agencies, had himself crowned "King of the Italian workers" in the city of Montreal. He had a crown resembling the Crown of Italy placed on his head and a formal presentation made. He owned an Italian newspaper, and in this newspaper he printed an account of the coronation, giving his own picture, a picture of the crown presented and of the flowers also presented at the coronation. There was a long list of several hundred Italians who were present at the coronation. In the same paper it was stated that Cordasco, as king of the Italian workers in Canada, could give employment to 10,000 men in this country. Copies of this paper were printed in large quantities, sent to Italy, and distributed there, and Mr. King found, when he made his investigation in Montreal, that a large number of the Italians who had come to Montreal had in their pockets copies of this paper, as well as other communications from Cordasco or some of his agents, and that they had come to Canada believing in a way that they were coming under some sort of royal protection. Cordasco also used the royal arms of Italy on his letter heads.

In connection with the Canadian Labour Bureau in London that I have been speaking about, operated by a person named Leopold, and as I have said, operated in the same building as the Dominion Government Immigration Office, I have a letter in my possession written by Mr. Leopold himself containing his advertisement, which, I am sure, is quite sufficient to delude the public in England, and quite sufficient to bring people to this country under a very serious and false delusion. It has the arms of Canada as a letter head. This royal protection method as exercised by the Italians in Montreal and by the Canadian Labour Bureau seems to be a favourite method. Quite apart from the injustice done to the working men and their families who are deceived in this way, and the injustice to working men in Canada whose positions are taken from them through persons brought to Canada in this way, I am sure the members of this House will agree that it is an indignity to the nation as a whole that the symbol of its national authority should be made an instrument of fraud to deceive and to injure innocent citizens. I believe that national frauds of this kind cannot be too closely watched or dealt with too severely, for if private parties are to be permitted, for their own personal purposes, to use the name and symbol of national authority, the Government might as well give up at once any effort on its own part to use its name and authority for promoting its own legitimate ends. Now, Sir, in connection with the report of Judge Winchester—

Mr. BARKER: The hon. gentleman referred to a certain letter which he said he would read; will he do so?

Mr. RALPH SMITH: I shall read the letter. It is dated from 13, Charing Cross, London, which is in the same building with the Government Office; it bears the Canadian coat of arms, and it is as follows:—

“ Authorized booking office,

“ Canadian Labour Bureau, 13, Charing Cross,

“ London, S.W., June 24, 1904.

“ MY DEAR SIR,—In reply to your letter of a recent date, I beg to say that brick-setters are very greatly in demand at the present time, as are all other builders' mechanics. I inclose you list giving you the wages earned and should recommend you to go to either Montreal, Toronto or Winnipeg, fares at the present time £3 10s. 6d., £4 9s. 7d., or £5 10s., respectively, through from Liverpool. Of course these cheap rates are not likely to continue for long. I could furnish you with a letter of introduction which would obtain you immediate employment on arrival in any of these centres. Toronto is very short handed at the moment, as besides the general activity of the building trade the recent disastrous fire has largely increased the demand for men in the building trade. The cost of living is also cheap in this part of the world, and you would get good board and lodging for twelve shilling six pence per week. I inclose you some sailing bills and shall be pleased to hear further from you.

“ I am, Dear Sir,

“ Yours faithfully,

“ For LOUIS LEOPOLD.”

Now, Mr. Speaker, I am pointing out that while it is the policy of the Dominion Government to induce only agricultural immigrants to come to Canada, this agency through its misrepresentation and through its pretended close association with Dominion Government influence, induces other classes of men to come from the old country to Canada through these fraudulent representations. The Canadian Government has never adopted the policy of inducing mechanics to come to this country, but here is an agency engaged in that business and which is so closely associated with the influence of the Government that immigrants are deceived into the belief that they are being brought here by the Canadian Government.

When the Deputy Minister of Labour submitted his report on the Italian investigation to the then Minister of Labour, Sir William Mulock, and it was seen how serious and extensive the frauds had been, and when the Deputy Minister represented that he believed the full facts could only be ascertained by means of a Royal Commission, the Minister of Labour had the authority of Judge Winchester, who was acting as a commissioner looking into the employment of aliens on the Grand Trunk Pacific, extended so as to enable him to further investigate under Royal Commission the frauds being practised in Montreal. Judge Winchester's report with the evidence taken before him, has been presented to Parliament, and perhaps it might be well for me to read what the commissioner says in his findings and recommendations. Judge Winchester says:—

“ I am of opinion the evidence fully establishes the fact that the large number of Italian immigrants who arrived in Montreal in the early part of 1904, were induced to come to this country through the efforts put forward by Mr. Cordasco, representing himself to be the sole agent of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company and requiring 10,000 men, offering them good wages and immediate employment, and that these inducements were made by means of advertisements inserted in ‘La Patria Italiana,’ the ‘Corriere del Canada,’ two newspapers published in the Italian language in Montreal, which he forwarded to Italy, and through the assistance of steamship agents in Italy with whom he corresponded on the subject.

“ Mr. Burns and Mr. Cordasco were most intimate in the dealings in connection with the employment of Italian labourers. This was so noticeable to cause adverse criticism of Mr. Burns, it being claimed by some that he was financially interested with

Mr. Cordasco in the employment of such labourers; this was denied by both. In my opinion Mr. Burns had control of Mr. Cordasco's actions and was well aware of the sums that were being paid by the men employed for the Canadian Pacific Railway Company as also for the provisions supplied, but instead of preventing the collection of these extortionate sums, he refused to interfere when requested to do so.

"Mr. Burns states that in December, 1903, he was told in New York by an agent that 10,000 were being brought into the country for the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway and that he believed this to be the fact. If he were so informed, he could, by inquiry and the use of the most ordinary intelligence, have ascertained this to be a false statement. Whether it was in consequence of this statement or not, Mr. Cordasco appears to have at that time commenced his efforts as above described to obtain 10,000 men and this without having any agreement with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company or any other employers of labour for the employment of men.

"In my opinion, he so acted with the knowledge that these men must apply to him before obtaining employment on the Canadian Pacific Railway, and with the object of compelling them to pay him the large sums it is shown he received."

The hon. member from St. James, Montreal (Mr. Gervais) was called upon to give evidence before that commission, and I quote the following from the hon. gentleman's testimony:—

"Mr. Gervais, M.P., in his evidence stated:—

"The class of immigrants that Canada wants to be brought here are picked up by the proper officials of the Dominion Government, by the proper agent of our Government, and I do not recognize the right of any private individual to speak in the name of Canada to the foreign labourers, and induce them to come here. We have our proper officials, who will not deceive the foreign labourer, and consequently, I would say that these private enterprises bringing poor men to Canada should be checked. Special legislation should be incorporated defining those who shall have the right to represent Canada abroad, because the good name of Canada may be imperilled. Upon being asked the question, 'have you given this subject enough attention to state definitely what in your opinion such amendments to the law should be?' he replied, 'Well, yes, we should have some clauses inserted in our immigration laws, for example, empowering our quarantine officials to examine what is the standing of the immigrants coming into Canada, and before they have been brought to Canada, and rejecting those that are unfitted, and at the same time making it necessary for the speculators who have been receiving these people to send them back.'"

When Judge Winchester, as commissioner, had given his report, the Minister of Labour, endeavouring in the interests of the working men of Canada to stop further frauds of this kind, had a clause inserted in the Alien Labour Bill, which he introduced that year into Parliament, whereby he made it an offence for working men to be brought into this country under false representations. I quote the following provision from Bill (No. 162) of that year:—

"Every person who does, in Canada, anything for the purpose of causing or procuring the publication or circulation, by advertisement or otherwise, in a country outside of Canada, of false representations as to the opportunities for employment in Canada, or as to the state of the labour market in Canada, intended or adapted to encourage or induce, or to deter or prevent, the immigration into Canada of persons resident in that country, or who does anything in Canada for the purpose of causing or procuring the communication to any resident of such country of any false representations, shall, if any such false representations are thereafter so published, circulated or communicated, be guilty of an offence, and liable, on summary conviction before two justices of the peace, to a penalty of not more than one thousand dollars and not less than fifty dollars for each offence."

That was passed by the House of Commons in the year 1904, but it was not put through the Senate, so that it was not enacted into law. The matter was, however, of too great importance to be lost sight of, and the following year the clause of the Bill dealing with fraudulent representations was introduced in the House as a separate measure by the hon. member for Cumberland (Mr. Logan) under the title: "An Act respecting false representation to induce or deter immigration," and this Act is now upon our statute-books.

It looked as if Parliament by passing this Act had met the evil effectively, and so far as fraudulent representations made in this country are concerned, I think the measure has been, and will prove effective. Occurrences which have arisen this year, however, have demonstrated that unless the purpose of Parliament in passing this Act is to be defeated, some further action is necessary to prevent the means that are being taken by certain parties to escape the provisions of the law. Within the past few months we have had an instance of how a large number of respectable men have been fraudulently induced to leave their homes in England—many of them to sever all the associations they had in the old land—and have been brought to Canada in the belief that their future prospects would be improved, only to find that they had been criminally deceived and had in reality been brought to play the dishonourable part of men who were to take the position of others in their own trade who were conducting a

peaceable strike. The House is familiar with the case to which I have reference. For some months past the printers of Canada have been seeking to establish the eight-hour day, and a peaceful strike was proceeding in Winnipeg when a man named Brunning was sent to England by the Employers' Association to induce printers to come here, with a view of breaking up that strike. It is true that the Act passed by this Parliament last session, at the instance of my hon. friend from Cumberland (Mr. Logan) would meet a case of that kind; but the moment this labour agent who brought these men out realized that they had discovered the deception, he returned to England, and of course could not be reached by the law.

The disclosure of the frauds in connection with the bringing to Canada this party of British printers suggested to me the importance of such a resolution as I have placed on the order paper, that this House should use its influence with the Imperial Authorities to induce them to enact similar legislation in England, so as to make it impossible for persons to make these fraudulent representations to persuade people to leave that country. It is a very serious thing to bring to this country working men who find when they arrive here that they have been deceived. I agree entirely with the progressive immigration policy of this Government, and I believe that the great prosperity of the country at the present time is due to that progressive policy. I especially believe that it is the British immigrant who ought to be induced to come to this country, and it is important that when he comes here he should realize that every representation made to him in regard to his future home is true, and that is why I am asking the House to adopt this resolution.

Now, we have reason to believe that this resolution, if adopted by the House, will have a very important effect upon the present administration in England. As hon. members are aware, a man who has been deeply interested in the great cause of labour all his life is at the head of the Labour Department of the British Government at the present time, and I have every reason to believe that if these representations are properly made to him, he will use his influence to have enacted in the British Parliament legislation that will accomplish the end we had in view in enacting our legislation of last session. In my opinion it would be a wise thing to utilize the offices of the very efficient Deputy Minister of Labour in order to follow up this resolution with personal representations to the Imperial Authorities on the subject. I hope the House will adopt unanimously the resolution which I have moved.

Mr. HANCE LOGAN (Cumberland): Mr. Speaker, as the author of the Bill passed by this Parliament last session to punish persons who make false representations to induce or to deter immigration, I have very great pleasure in supporting the resolution which has been so admirably moved by my hon. friend from Nanaimo (Mr. Ralph Smith). The reasons which prompted me last session to introduce the Bill which afterwards became law, were brought home to me very forcibly by certain immigrants who landed in the town where I happen to reside. These people who had been brought from England, had been absolutely deceived in reference to the condition of the labour market in that part of the country. In one instance an Englishman and his wife arrived in Amherst with five or six small children with the expectation of obtaining work in that town. They were almost upon the town, as the saying is, and in conversation with them I learned that in England they had been promised by some kind of labour agency that if they came to Amherst the man would be employed as a brick-layer at at least \$4 a day, and that he would also be supplied with a furnished house. It is almost criminal to make such representations to innocent people to encourage them to come to this country. It does this country harm, because these people only come here to write back to their friends and tell them how grievously they have been deceived. It is not only in the interest of the immigrant himself, but in the interest of this country, that this thing should be stopped, because one man brought to this country under false representations can undo the good work of many immigration agents in the motherland. We want to secure the best there is to come from the motherland to fill up the vacant lands of this country; but we do not want them brought here under false representations which only have the effect of deterring further good immigration. I hope the Act passed last session will do some good; but where we particularly want such legislation passed is in the mother Parliament, to prevent the operations of these agencies in England, and to punish those who make false representations in reference to the condition of the labour market in this country. I hope that the effect of this House adopting the resolution moved by the hon. member for Nanaimo will be that an Act similar to ours may be placed on the statute-book of Great Britain, and that this crime against this country may thus be prevented.

Mr. A. NERVILLE (Maisonneuve): I want to say a few words in favour of the resolution presented by my hon. friend from Nanaimo (Mr. Ralph Smith). I also wish to refer to the return which has been placed on the table of the House. It seems that it is always in time of trouble, when labour people throughout the country are striving for better conditions, that these false representations are made in the old country. My hon. friend has alluded to the last strike of the printers in Winnipeg. From the correspondence which has been laid on the table of the House it appears that the Employers' Association of that city had the right to bring these men to Winnipeg by any kind of representation. There is nothing in that correspondence that shows that they misrepresented anything. But the report of the Labour Department in regard to the investigation made by the Deputy Minister of Labour when he was sent to Winnipeg by the department, gives the case another aspect altogether. It shows that these thirty-seven men were brought to Winnipeg on misrepresentations of this Mr. Brunning. They were asked to come to this country and work. On being asked if there was any labour trouble, Mr. Brunning, according to his report, said that on account of the increase in the population and the increase of newspapers in the west, a certain number of printers were required, but was very careful not to say anything about the strike then in existence in that city.

I do not contest the right of any one, when there is any labour trouble, to get men to take the positions of the strikers; but, on the other hand, I do not believe that any one has the right to go on the other side of the line or to the old country and publish misleading advertisements and by false representations induce men to sell out everything and come out to this country in the belief that they would receive \$18 a week. What excuse can one find for a man who says he is going on a pleasure excursion and then takes this means of supplanting our own labouring men. When these printers landed at Montreal, they asked Mr. Brunning whether he had made them any false representation and he said no. They only found out the real state of affairs after they reached the city of Winnipeg. But instead of being put on a train direct to the city of Winnipeg, they were sent by a train which stopped a little distance from that city. The master printers went out to that train to hire them, and when shown by these men their engagements for two years, the master printers said that they were not worth the paper they were written on. That was the situation of the men and the situation also of the employers. If it is unjust to bring printers to this country on false representations, it is equally unjust to bring out any other class on similar misrepresentations. I have here a letter in which the writer says that three plasterers were brought to Montreal last year on the guarantee of a Montreal builder exchange. The moment they landed they were told that the paper was no good, and that they might get work and they might not. I have also other letters from people in Glasgow who send their names and say they are willing to furnish men at any conditions to those who desire them in this country. I know that these men are generally asked for when there is some labour trouble on. Ask the working men of Montreal, Kingston, Toronto, Hamilton, St. Thomas and Windsor, and you will find out that any number of men have been brought to these places only when there were labour troubles to be dealt with. As I have said the labouring people have no objection whatever to men engaging themselves to work. I believe that every man has the right to work for his living, but I do not believe that anyone has the right to bring in immigrants on misrepresentations. But people have avoided the law which this House passed last year. Instead of going to the other side, as they used to do in the past, they write their friends to send out immigrants, and they will then say: We never sent for any. And they will do just as they did in the case of the printers in Winnipeg. They will have the train stop a few miles out from the city and then say to these people: If you want a position, I am ready to employ you. There is a small piece of paper giving the address, and you may go to work to-morrow morning. That is the way to evade the law and that is the reason why my hon. friend from Nanaimo (Mr. Smith) is asking the Government to pass legislation so that English working men will know the whole situation. This resolution has been on the order paper for a long time, and I have had occasion in the meantime to see a good many labour representatives throughout the country, and they are all in favour of our passing a resolution of the kind now proposed. There will be many more resolutions of this kind presented to the House, and I know they also will be passed, just as will this one. I shall not proceed any further but trust the House will pass the resolution as submitted.

Hon. A. B. AYLESWORTH (Minister of Labour). The object of this resolution has been so well explained by both hon. gentlemen who have spoken in support of it that perhaps nothing further need be said on the subject, and the resolution, I have no doubt, will commend itself to the good opinion of this House, and receive, if not the unanimous support, the support practically of every one interested in the due administration of the law in this country. Of the principle which underlies the resolution in question, the course taken by this House last session, in passing the Act referred to by my hon. friends, is a sufficient demonstration. This House then adopted the view that misrepresentations of the character referred to are not in the public interest and are offences which ought to be put a stop to. These misrepresentations are but one of the manifold forms of fraud, and wherever you have frauds perpetrated, either in the ordinary civil affairs of mankind or encroaching upon the range of the criminal law, you have something which is in its essence an offence against the body politic and which it is in the public interest to prevent. This Parliament, recognizing that it was not in the best interests of this country that immigrants should be brought in under any misrepresentation or misunderstanding, placed upon the statute-book less than a year ago the legislation referred to. That legislation of course could not extend beyond the territorial limits of this country, and could not have application to anything done elsewhere than within Canada itself, and the result of our ineffectual effort to reach the root of the evil we were undertaking to prevent is manifested by the circumstances which have been alleged by the hon. gentleman who moved this resolution (Mr. Smith) and the hon. gentleman from Maisonneuve (Mr. Verville) who seconded it. Misrepresentation of any character, it might be said, which is made to a person intending to come to this country as an immigrant and induces him to take that step is necessarily an injury to the whole country. We can never expect to build up out of the immigrants from foreign nations a people who will be loyal to our institutions, who will be animated by a proper feeling for their adopted home, or who will be found contented and at peace in the ordinary relations of life if they are settling down in this country under a fixed conviction that they have been brought here under false pretensions and that they have been deceived upon the very vital business considerations which have induced them to come at all. So long as that is done it is directly the interest of every good citizen in this country that that sort of thing should be prevented if it is possible to prevent it and just because we as the representatives of the people of this country are in that respect directly interested in the preventing of these evils, though committed outside the territorial jurisdiction of Canada, this resolution asking ancillary legislation in the Imperial Parliament, commends itself to my mind as a resolution that we should unhesitatingly adopt. It would be, I venture to think, a good thing if similar legislation might be enacted not merely in the Imperial Parliament but in every country from which immigrants come to Canada; but we are so much more directly and intimately connected with the mother country, with our own Imperial Parliament, if I may use the expression, that we certainly cannot go wrong if, sitting as the House of Commons

of Canada; we make representations to the House of Commons of Great Britain, through the Colonial Secretary, in the form in which this resolution suggests. It is a subject that directly concerns the welfare of the people of this country and in regard to which therefore it cannot, I submit, be improper or indiscreet that action should be taken by this Parliament. The offence which is struck at by the legislation of last session was one which Parliament then deemed a very serious offence, as is manifested by the unusually heavy fine which is fixed by the statute, as the maximum limit of the money penalty that may be imposed. A fine of \$1,000 is no inconsiderable punishment to impose on anyone for breaking an Act of Parliament in the matter of false representation, and viewing what has been complained of here as an offence of that character it is one which very well may be the subject of legislation from any Parliament anywhere in the world, that is willing to assist in preventing the repetition of such criminal conduct. The circumstances which have been alluded to, the immigration of Italian labourers and others to Montreal under circumstances of this character, and the more recent false representations that were freely made by the man named in the report on the printers' strike at Winnipeg, are but illustrations of what no doubt is going on, and going on continuously, by secret practices which it is most difficult at any time to discover. When results manifested as they had been manifested in this country on the occasions that have been alluded to in this case may take place efforts should be made to prevent a repetition of such wrongs so far as legislative enactment will accomplish that purpose. That was as far as in the administration of the Department of Labour I, so far as the Winnipeg strike was concerned, felt myself in a position to go. The Deputy Minister was promptly sent to investigate the circumstances under which these men were brought into Canada. His report is published, his report has been brought down and laid upon the table of the House, and hon. gentlemen will see there, as my good friend from Maisonneuve (Mr. Verville) has pointed out, that these men were simply brought into this country under representations that were substantially, and one might say wholly, untrue, and that there was the most deliberate attempt, to all appearances, to evade the provisions of the law. But we are quite unable to punish, we are quite unable to prevent the offence, for, even if it were one for which extradition could take place, it is of such a character that the offender, beyond the territorial limits of the country, would be difficult to follow. But the offence that has been committed is one not committed within the jurisdiction of the courts of Canada; it is something which takes place across the ocean, something in regard to which this Parliament cannot legislate. How, then, are we to prevent it? What can we do other than make the representations which this resolution asks this House to make to the British Parliament? With regard to the conclusion in this case at Winnipeg to which reference has been made, I should say simply that upon considering the report of the investigation made by the Deputy Minister of the department his conclusions appeared to be so well founded and the matter one of so much gravity that I recommended the transmission through the proper channel to the authorities in London of the results of the investigation, and of a request, so far as His Majesty's advisers in Canada could properly make such a request, through the Colonial Office, to the British Parliament that similar legislation might be there enacted. The Government has taken that action in this matter, that was as much as the Government could do and it remains for this House, if it sees fit, to support the course the Government is taking and, by adopting this resolution, to transmit to the Parliament of Great Britain with such weight of authority as a resolution of this House must necessarily carry, a recommendation to that Parliament that it will assist us in preventing this great wrong not merely to the people of this country but to the citizens of Great Britain and Ireland as well.

Mr. R. L. BORDEN: What reply, if any, was received to that communication?

Mr. AYLESWORTH: No reply has yet been received, nor has there yet been time; it is all a matter of the last month.

Mr. OLIVER: I understood the hon. gentleman who moved this motion (Mr. Ralph Smith) to indicate to the House that there was in the same building as that occupied by the Dominion Government Immigration Offices in London an employment agency operated under pretence of having some connection or association with the Government's Immigration Department. I would like to inform the House that that idea had been suggested to the Immigration Department some time ago, and that in view of the results of the investigation made by the immigration branch in September of last year, the rights of the person in question, Mr. Leopold, in occupying part of that building, were purchased by the Interior Department, and since that time that gentleman has not been occupying any part of the building under control of the Immigration Department in London and has not been able in any way, so far as I am aware, to establish any communication either of one kind or another with the operations of the immigration branch of the Interior Department.

I would like further to say that as I have already mentioned to the House the immigration branch of the Interior Department, recognizing that while the demand for immigration in this country related entirely to farmers and those who would be employed on farms the inducements held out to booking agents in the old country under the recent regulations were equal in regard to all classes of the community. Under the administration of those regulations as they then prevailed, there was not that distinction between the agricultural classes and other classes that was desirable. The regulations were amended so that, instead of paying a bonus of \$1.75 per head to immigrants of any class who declared their intention of becoming agriculturists, since the 1st of April a bonus of \$5 per head has been paid only to those who have been actually engaged in agriculture in the old country, or in certain kindred occupations which are specified, the purpose being to withdraw from those who are connected with the business of soliciting immigration to Canada, any inducement that the department may have hitherto held out to immigrants of any other class than those who would, by reason of their past experience, be considered as people whose only object in coming to Canada was to go upon the land.

Mr. SPROULE: I understood from the information given us that if the party had heretofore been engaged on the land, that was a sufficient reason for regarding him as a farmer, or if he declared that no matter what his past record might have been, he intended to go on the land in the future, he was also regarded as satisfactory, and was accepted as one for whom the North Atlantic Trading Company was to be paid.

Mr. OLIVER: This has nothing whatever to do with the operations of the North Atlantic Trading Company—my hon. friend must have that on the brain. This question only relates to immigrants from Great Britain, and I am telling the House that up to the 1st of April, under the regulations that then prevailed, we paid \$1.75 per head on all persons coming from Great Britain who declared their intention of going upon the land and taking up agricultural work. Since that time we have paid \$5 per head to those who have been actually engaged in agricultural operations or in certain kindred operations which are specified, and we do not take into account the intention which may be expressed by people who have not been connected with those occupations in the old country; the result being that as respects a man who has been an artisan or a skilled mechanic, there is no inducement presented at the present time to a booking agent to induce that man to emigrate to Canada. That inducement has been absolutely withdrawn.

Mr. BARR: I think if we look over the history of immigration during the last three or four years, we must come to the conclusion that the present Government is not altogether blameless for the undesirable class of immigrants that are brought to this country. We know it to be a fact that in London, under the very roof with the office of this Government, there was this man Leopold and one or two others in an office of their own, and when intending emigrants came into Mr. Preston's office, he, finding that they were not agriculturists or servant-girls, sent them out to Leopold, who, for two or three years, had an office just above Mr. Preston's office. The result was that after going into Leopold's office all sorts of inducements were held out to them to come to this country. I remember that two years ago this question was brought up in the Ontario legislature and threshed out, and it was proved beyond a doubt that there was such a close connection between the Government agent and Leopold, that a community of interest existed between the two. The result was that when they did not receive instructions from Mr. Preston they were sent into Leopold's office, and it was natural for these people to believe that the representations made to them must be true, seeing that such close connection existed between the two offices. In this way many emigrants were brought to this country that were undesirable, brought on the representations of these men who were considered agents of the Government. For a length of time their office was just above Mr. Preston's office; then they moved down, and for a length of time, up to last September, there was an open door between the office of Mr. Preston, the representative of this Government, and the office of Mr. Leopold, and no doubt many men going from one office into the other were misled, and supposed that the information they received in Leopold's office was given them by an officer of this Government when such was not the case. In the discussion I refer to that took place two years ago, it was proven that the representations were so false that they were a disgrace to the Government; and it was contended that both this Government and the Ontario Government should take means to prevent these false representations being made to intending immigrants, apparently by officers of the Government. Of course this Government denies responsibility, and the Ontario Government denied responsibility in any way, and denied that their officers were doing this. But we all know that Mr. Preston is not a man who will do work for nothing, merely for the good of his health; therefore he must have been paid. We had evidence stronger than mere assumption that probably the profits were divided between these two men, and mechanics and other classes were brought out to this country for whom these London agents were getting \$3 or \$4 a head; and when they came here they found it very difficult to get labour under any circumstances. Now I think the Government must be held responsible for that state of affairs during the last two or three years. I am glad to know that since the present Minister of the Interior came into office that state of affairs has been stopped, which should have been stopped two or three years ago. Just fancy the Government having a beautiful office all fixed up for their officials, and when men went in there asking for instructions they were told that they could not get the instructions they desired; but if they chose to go into Mr. Leopold's office on the other side of the passage, they could get full instructions. Now would it not be natural for those men to believe that they were receiving instructions from a Government agent? And it was proved beyond a doubt that some of the instructions they did receive were misrepresentations, and these were given in the same building, almost in the same office.

We do know that it has injured immigration to this country. Probably the best immigration agents we have are those who come out to this country or to the North-West, settle down, make themselves homes and are satisfied with the conditions which surround them. These are the agents who, writing home to their friends in other countries, bring out probably the largest number of immigrants. There is no doubt that many of those who were induced by the false representations of Mr. Leopold and those who came out from continental Europe and for whom the North Atlantic Trading Company received their bonus, found, when they arrived in this country, that they had been deceived. They were not informed by the Government that they had no control over Mr. Leopold, and when they applied to Mr. Preston he told them to go to Mr. Leopold, and from him they would receive the information they desired. That was proven in the Ontario House two years ago. That state of affairs should not exist. It did exist until September last. I am glad to know that a change has been made.

Mr. J. B. MORIN (Dorchester): Mr. Speaker, in regard to these immigrants that we have heard so much about in the House, it appears to me that a great deal of the dissatisfaction which exists could be easily stopped and that the way to do it is to leave the people at home

in Europe. If they wish to come here, well and good; treat them right when they do come, but let them come at their own expense. What is the use of us going to so much expense to bring immigrants here in order to fill up the west? I know from personal experience that in fifty years from now there will not be room enough in the whole of the west for Canadians. Take the case of the State of Minnesota; that territory became a State in 1858. Its population then was 8,000. Now, it is up to 3,000,000. I walked from Minnesota to Dakota in 1858, about 300 miles, over the prairie. I did not see a house or the sign of a house. I also walked from the Red Lakes in Minnesota to Duluth and not a shanty could be seen, nothing but Indian wigwams. All these territories are filled up to-day. Now, the Yankees are coming to the Canadian west themselves. We do not have to pay them or coax them to come because they have an overplus of population in their own country. The same condition will be found to exist in this country in less than fifty years from now. Let them come here if they wish and let us keep our money.

Mr. SPROULE: I wish to say a word in reference to the observation of the Hon. Minister of the Interior (Mr. Oliver) that I must have the North Atlantic Trading Company on the brain. Of course that is characteristic of the very courteous answers that the Hon. Minister gives to hon. gentlemen on this side of the House. When speaking of booking agents the hon. member did not say to which booking agents he referred, therefore I assumed it was the booking agents under the North Atlantic Trading Company. I referred to the information which was given before the committee that the booking agents of the aforesaid company were paid on two principles. 1st, If they had been on farms before they left home or employed on farms; and, 2nd, If they replied in answer to the question as to what they intended to do in Canada, that they intended to go on farms or do farming. If there is another class of booking agents in the British Isles that are paid and paid upon the principle that the hon. gentleman speaks of he should have referred to the fact that these were booking agents in the British Isles and have made that distinction himself; so that if I made a mistake it was due to the inadvertence of the hon. gentleman.

Mr. R. L. BORDEN: It is to be regretted, I think, that any supposed connection has existed between Mr. Leopold and the Immigration Department in London. I was not aware of the circumstances alluded to by my hon. friend from Dufferin (Mr. Barr) until he spoke just now, but certainly it is extremely undesirable that the officials of the department in London should have referred intending immigrants to a person who has apparently not been very careful as to the representations he made to intending immigrants. I would have thought that if any such connection has been suggested or if such representation has actually been made the department in London might easily have taken legal proceedings against Mr. Leopold to prevent him from asserting any connection between his office and the Department of the Interior. I would also have thought it possible to have taken legal proceedings to prevent him from making false representations for the purpose of inducing immigration. However, that is not of importance just at this moment. It is important, however, to consider whether some earlier representation might not have been made by this Government to the Imperial Government. It appears that the Hon. Minister of Labour (Mr. Aylesworth) has recently sent forward to the Imperial Government a suggestion that legislation of this kind should be enacted by the British Parliament. Obviously, as was pointed out by my hon. friend the Minister of Labour, the most urgent need for this legislation is in Great Britain or in any country where the representations are made and where they have effect. I would have thought it proper, after this Parliament had passed the legislation, to have at once suggested to the Imperial Government that legislation of the same character should be enacted in Great Britain, because it is there that the evil complained of has arisen, and it is there that the legislation would be most effective. However, that has not been done until very recently, as we are informed by the Hon. Minister of Labour, so recently that no answer has yet been received by the Government to the communication so made.

It is further to be suggested in this connection that if the representations of the Government or of this Parliament should commend itself to the British Government and the British Parliament, it will be necessary for this Government to take some measures to see that the law is put into force. We could hardly expect the British Government to be at the pains of following up individual instances where persons in Great Britain have made false representations of any character which have induced immigration to this country. If legislation of that kind is passed by the British Parliament I think it should be the duty of this Government, through its Immigration Department there, or through some other department of the Government, to take steps not only to ascertain whether or not these false representations continue to be made, but to see that any such false representations, if made, are pursued and punished under the British law. I concur entirely with what has been said by the Hon. Postmaster-General to-day that a false representation of this kind is not only a serious offence against the individuals concerned, but also a very serious offence against the State, against Canada itself, because it must in the end have the effect of deterring and preventing that immigration to this country which otherwise we might expect.

Mr. H. GERVAIS (St. James, Montreal): Mr. Speaker, before the resolution is passed, I wish to say a word. To my mind, the scope of this motion is not wide enough. This Parliament of Canada should not only request the Imperial Parliament to pass a law regulating emigration so far as our interests are concerned, but we should ask the Imperial Parliament further to pass a law embodying the modern theories with respect to citizenship. The immigration and the emigration problem was not known before the year 1830, and as a matter of fact it did not become a live issue until the year 1868, when new theories respecting citizenship were embodied in the laws of the United States, and in the laws of England two years later,

in 1870. Under this modern jurisprudence a new doctrine of citizenship has been invoked, and I may say that it embodies principles for which the war of 1812 was fought. Under this new doctrine a citizen of a State has a right to change his allegiance; he cannot be the citizen of two States at the same time, but he must be a citizen of some State. This theory brought new ideas to the minds of men, and one feature of that modern issue is, that the state is becoming more and more a commercial corporation; a nation is now an aggregation of people banded together not only for political, but for commercial purposes. These new theories which have been for years percolating through the strata of all legislation, have made a great impression upon the men of our day, and have caused them to be jealous of the class of new comers who join them in their statehold, with the object of participating in the institutions which they have established. We should have a law in Canada to restrict immigration; we should have no assisted immigration; we should have a law to prevent the intrusion into our midst of men who believe in the assassination of the officers of Government, and of men who believe in the overthrow of all government. Canada boasts herself a nation, and Canada should have a law which would prevent from coming here to enjoy the advantages of our constitution those whose moral, religious, and political ideas are opposed to the structure upon which we have built up this young and happy nation. It should be our endeavour by all means to secure the continued existence of these institutions of our country which we love so well and which give us a distinct originality amongst the nations of the earth.

At six o'clock, House took recess.